COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS [11]

489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Peking and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the People's Republic of China, has a population of over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

361 [162] [543]

496 489 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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[11] Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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241 and Shantung into the whole of North China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, abosrbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for 361 maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic 621 organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the Yellow River plain to the loess highlands and mountains of Shansi? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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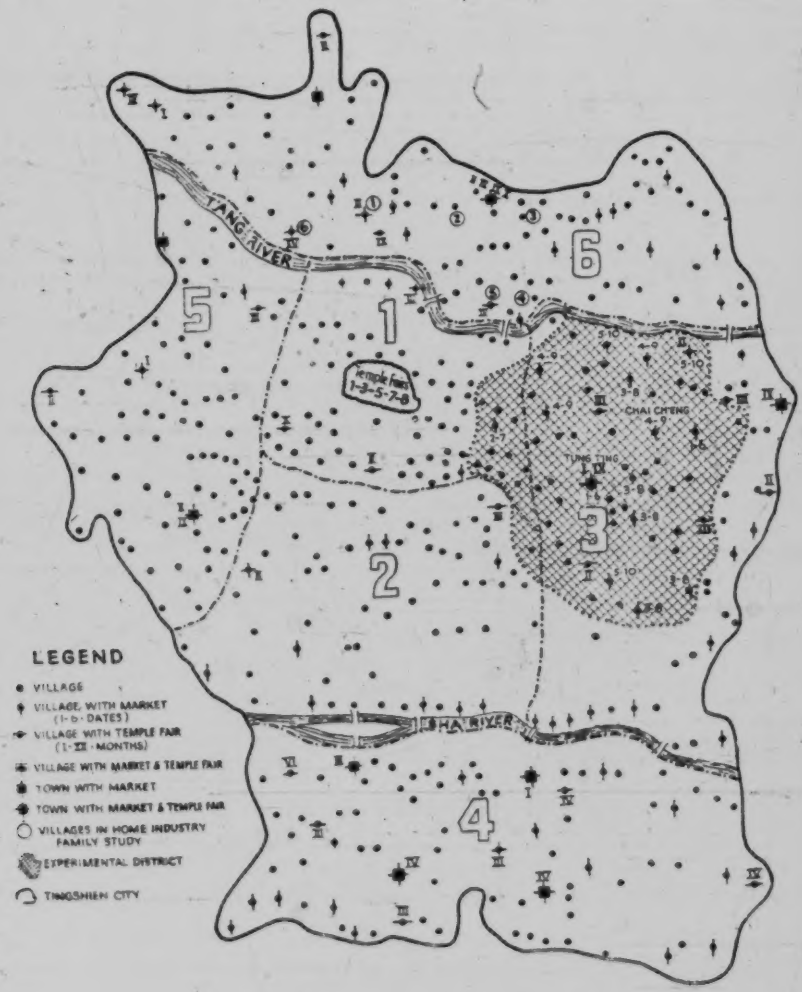

FIGURE 1. MAP OF TING HSIEN

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 1. FAMILY STUDIES

CHAPTER II

Population and Other Vital Statistics

THE POPULATION of Ting Hsien was generally estimated to be, in round numbers, forty 10,000s or 400,000 persons. The total could only be estimated for no complete census had been taken in the hsien. The families had been counted, but individuals had been counted only in sample groups of families. Our count of the families living in the hsien multiplied by 5.83, the average number of persons per family in a 7.5 per cent sample, gave a total population of 408,300, only 2.1 per cent more than the generally estimated 400,000.[1]

The average population density for the hsien was 95 persons per square li, 850 persons per square mile of total area. It was 1,100 persons per square mile of crop area. In determining these figures the area and population of the hsien city and its three suburbs have been included, as 72 per cent of their area was cultivated land. In America the population density per square mile of total area in 1930 was 649.8 in Rhode Island, 537.4 in Massachusetts, and 136.4 in Illinois.[2] Buck found the population density in a Hopei district 100 miles south of Ting Hsien to be 1,171 persons per square mile of farm area.[3]

According to our count there were 70,034 families in Ting Hsien in 1931. They were living in the hsien city, 10 "towns" and 443 "villages". We have not attempted to differentiate between the "towns" and "villages" for while the "towns" generally had more families than the "villages" there were some "villages" that were larger than the neighboring "town". Seventy-two of the "villages" held periodic markets, not all of them as large as those of the "towns" but very similar.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the Ting Hsien population to be 445,474.

2. U.S. Census, 1930.

3. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 1

There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages" and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

The following figures show how the villages and families were divided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Their wearers did not belong to the very old group, but were men between 46 and 55 years of age.

A surprisingly small number of persons with physical disabilities were reported in the 515 families. The total was 25. Only three of these were females. There were three blind men and three men and one woman were blind in one eye. Two men were dumb and six were deaf. Lameness was serious enough to be reported for four men and two women. Two men had paralyzed arms and two paralyzed fingers.

With less than one per cent of the group reported as having physical disabilities one cannot but wonder whether the report was incomplete or whether the extra difficulties of life had eliminated others who might have been stricken.

Home Ownership

Home ownership was almost universal for these Ting Hsien families. The figures are 98.8 per cent for the 5,255 families and 96.3 per cent for the 515 families. In a group of families living in Peking only 21.2 per cent owned their homes.[14]

About two-thirds of the non-owners were given the use of their homes, so house rent was paid by only 0.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and by 1.4 per cent of the 515 families. The small proportion of home renters makes it evident that a large proportion of those classed as tenant farmers owned their homes, even though they rented all of the land they farmed. In the 1st District 11.4 per cent of the families were tenant farmers, in the hsien only 4.7 per cent.

The high percentage of home ownership indicates very definitely that Ting Hsien had a steady, settled population and that almost all of the families had been in the area long enough to accumulate the funds needed to buy their homes. Quite a number of the families said that their ancestors came to Ting Hsien about 500 years ago.

In the 71 villages in the 1st District the average family residence area was 2.1 mu, about 100 x 150 feet. In that area the family would have its living quarters, housing for any animals, and storage for all farm equipment and for its food, fodder, and fertilizer.

The total residence area in the 71 villages varied from eight to 800 mu. Sixteen villages had less than 50 mu each. Fourteen had 300 or more mu. The average per family varied from 0.4 mu to 8.2 mu, but

14. Gamble, *op. cit.*

1/ [In Ting Hsien -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

only five villages had an average of more than 4.0 mu per family. In 57.8 per cent of the villages the average residence area was less than two mu per family.

A study of the residence area of 357 families living in two villages gave detailed figures of relatively crowded conditions that would be typical of the more crowded 25 per cent of the villages in the 1st District. The average residence area was 0.78 mu, about 70 x 80 feet. More than 30 per cent of the families had less than half a mu, 60 x 60 feet. Only four families had as much as 2.5 mu. The largest home place was 10 mu. (See Table 11.)

The estimates of the average value of the land inside the villages, as given by the elders of the 453 villages, ranged from under $100 per mu to $1,000 and over. In 28.8 per cent of the villages the average value was under $200 per mu. In 18 per cent it was given as $400 or more per mu. There were only three villages with an estimated value of $1,000 or more per mu. The median value was between $250 and $299 per mu.

The size of the houses, counting all the rooms used for the family living quarters and for farm purposes, ranged from one to 60 chien for the 5,255 families and from one to 34 chien for the 515 families. A chien, the space between two roof trusses, generally varied from 10 x 10 to 12 x 12 feet. The number of chien usually corresponds closely with the number of rooms, but is not always the same, for it is possible to have a half chien room or a two or three chien room. In our study rooms and chien are assumed to be equal.

The average number of rooms per family was 6.2 for the 5,255 families and 6.8 for the 515 families. For the renting families, the averages were 2.9 and 2.7 rooms, while for those who borrowed or were given the use of their homes, the averages were 1.8 and 2.0. The average number of persons per chien was 1.1 and 1.0. (See Table 13.)

Figure 12 shows that the largest number of families had three rooms, then in order five, six, and four rooms. These four groups included 58.8 per cent of the 5,255 families and 52.5 per cent of the 515 families.

According to one of our investigators a three room house consisted of the family bedroom at one end of the house, a room at the other end which was storeroom, barn, and granary combined, and a middle room with a built-in stove, which served as kitchen and living room. At night chickens, a pig, and even a donkey were kept in the middle room lest they be stolen. The door of the house usually opened into the middle

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

121 over statement and so make our figures somewhat below the actual amount but still more accurate than the official figures. It has not been possible to measure or estimate the probable error.

Our land study was made in three sections, first of the Experimental District, second of the 1st District, and third of the rest of the hsien. The first two were more detailed than the third as it was felt that they were reasonable samples and it was not necessary to repeat all the detail in the larger study.

134 The total amount of arable land was reported as 1,424,931 mu, approximately 871 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total reported area. In the Experimental District and the 1st District the non-farm area was reported as 11 and 18 per cent. A general inspection of the other districts showed that they had a considerably larger proportion of waste land. The proportion of non-farm land is not particularly significant in our study as the number of persons per square mile of gross area would be almost the only figure to be radically affected by any change in the percentage. It is of interest to note, however, that in the 1st District the village heads reported only 1.2 per cent of the district occupied by graves.

361 134 The crop area controlled by the different villages ranged from 245 to 32,500 mu. The average was 3,150 mu, 525 acres. Only one village had more than 13,000 mu, five had more than 12,000 mu (2,000 acres), 10 had 10,000 mu or more. Only 47, 10.4 per cent, had as much as 6,000 mu (1,000 acres). Fifty-four per cent of the villages had less than 2,500 mu and 19 per cent had less than 1,000 mu. (See Table 58.)

As the number of families in the villages varied from six to 1,200 the average amount of crop area per family was much more significant than the total amount of land held by the village. The per family average varied from seven to 76 mu. In 11 villages the average was less than 10 mu per family. It was less than 15 mu in 75 villages. These probably were the poorer villages of the hsien, though the lack of agricultural income may have been made up by industrial or other activity. In only 15 villages, 3.3 per cent, was the average 40 or more mu per family. Table 58 gives the averages for the villages in the 1st District, the Experimental District, and the hsien.

Grouping the villages according to the largest land holding of any of their families, we find that in seven villages the largest holding was less than 50 mu. In almost half the villages, 47.3 per cent, it was less than

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

150 mu, while in three-quarters of the villages it was less than 250 mu. In only 32 villages, 7.0 per cent, was the largest holding 400 or more mu. Only two villages reported their largest holding to be over 1,000 mu.

The largest amount of land owned by one family was 3,950 mu. That was a city family. The largest family holding in any village was 1,800 mu, 300 acres. Only three families owned more than 1,000 mu; only six more than 600 mu, 100 acres; only 11 more than 500 mu. There were only 132 families who owned 300 mu (50 acres) or more. They were only 0.2 per cent of the land owning families. Large land holdings were not a serious problem in Ting Hsien.

The 2.1 per cent of the families who owned 100 or more mu held 17.1 per cent of the farm land. The 9.0 per cent owning 50 or more mu owned 38.6 per cent of the crop area. At the lower end of the scale, 91 per cent of the land owning families had less than 50 mu, while 72 per cent had less than 25 mu each. The latter group owned 33.1 per cent of the crop area.

Our study did not subdivide the families with less than 25 mu, but in the study of a single village, located some miles south of Ting Hsien, 85.2 per cent of the families owned less than 50 mu, while 62.3 per cent had less than 20 mu. Fifteen per cent had less than five mu per family, 23.1 per cent had from 5.0 to 9.9 mu, and 24.2 per cent from 10.0 to 19.9 mu. The 15.0 per cent with less than five mu per family owned only 1.5 per cent of the land. Those with less than 20 mu owned some 22 per cent of the farm area. The 3.5 per cent of the families who owned 100 mu or more held 20.9 per cent of the land.[1]

Just over 10 per cent of the privately owned land was listed as worth less than $25 per mu. Just under one-quarter, 24.3 per cent, was worth from $25 to $49, while a little more than another quarter, 28.2 per cent, was valued between $50 and $74. Only 0.6 per cent was worth $150 or more per mu. (See Table 61.)

As might be expected, the distribution in the different price classifications varied considerably in the different districts. Forty-seven per cent of the land in the 3rd District was valued at under $50 per mu. In the city only 8.7 per cent was valued at less than $50 per mu and none at less than $25 per mu. At the upper end of the scale 48.5 per cent of the city land was worth $100 or more per mu. In the 2nd District the

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

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Two studies were made of the temples. The first and more complete study was made in 1928 of the temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. A more general study of the entire hsien was made in 1930. There were 855 temples in the 453 villages and market towns of the hsien, an average of 1.9 temples per village. Tinghsien city had 22 temples. For the Experimental District, the figure was 104 temples, an average of 1.7 temples per village. Some villages had no temples. Others had as many as 11. In the Experimental District 31, or one-half of the villages, had no temples; eight had only one temple. Eleven villages, 18 per cent, had more than three temples, but only four villages, 6 per cent, had more than five temples.

There were three Mohammedan mosques in the hsien, two in the villages and one in the city.

The Catholics had a large city church, six village churches, and 36 other places of meeting, the Protestants a city church, 14 village congregations, but no village churches.

The list of the principal gods in the temples showed that there were four kinds or groups of temples, Buddhist, Taoist, Official, and Individual.

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The outstanding deities of the different cults are, of course, quite clear. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, are unmistakably Buddhist. Yü Huang, the San Ching, the San Kuan, Chen Wu, Erh Lang, Lao Tzu, and the Stellar Deities are the chief Taoist gods. The Niang Niangs, a group of some nine goddesses, are included in this group even though their origin is probably pre-Taoist and may trace back to a very early goddess of fecundity. National heroes who have gradually been deified and given a place in the Official temples are Confucius; China's three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang Ti; the three heroes of San Kuo times, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei; and Yüeh Fei, a Sung dynasty warrior. Besides these heroes the Official list includes the Ch'eng Huang and the T'u Ti, the gods of the particular locality. Ch'eng Huang, the protector of the city, had the same rank in the spirit world as the local official had in the temporal world. The T'u Ti is the local constable. The dragons are included in the official list as they controlled the rain, and it was part of the officials' duty to offer prayers for propitious weather.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954. AF12 North China AF12

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and, after fighting in the streets, drove out the Shansi troops. The people in the city built dugouts as refuges from the shooting. The victorious army not only levied special taxes for "saving" the city, but there was a great deal of general looting by the troops.

Chang Tso-lin and Yen Hsi-shan fought again in October, 1927. Then in May, 1928, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan joined with the Nationalist forces to drive out Chang Tso-lin and his Fengtien army. The Nationalist Revolutionary Army was fighting with the National Pacification Army for possession of Hopei province.

Defeated at Shih Chia Chuang, Chang Tso-lin's army retreated to Ting Hsien. They were driven from there, but only after fighting in the city streets. Before they left, they looted the countryside and levied on the city. Judging from the losses in the Experimental District, the looting and exactions of the armies during the years 1927–1928 amounted to about $1,000,000.

With the capture of Peking the Nationalists completed the unification of the country. They moved the capital to Nanking and changed the name of Peking from Pei Ching, North Capital, to Pei P'ing, North Peace.

There was fighting again in the summer of 1931 when Feng Yu-hsiang tried to start a revolt against the Nationalist government. The battle line was drawn to the north of Ting Hsien, but airplanes flew over and bombed the city. Bombproof cellars were dug for the inhabitants. Trenches were dug for machine gun emplacements on top of the city wall. The revolt quickly collapsed, so Ting Hsien was spared any serious fighting, but it did suffer from the armies as they went through.

The Japanese captured Ting Hsien in 1937, but met heavy resistance from the local forces. It was reported that the city changed hands some seven times before the Japanese were able to hold it. Because of the continued resistance throughout the countryside many of the villages were raided by the Japanese and not a few were burned and completely destroyed.

City Wall

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Tinghsien city was surrounded by an old wall that the hsien history said was first built during the Han dynasty. Its length was given as 26 li and 13 pu. Another report gave its length as 21 li (seven miles). It

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

712 361 had supporting bastions on both the inside and the outside. Those inside were some 16 feet long. The longest of the outside ones that we measured was 38 feet long.

The wall was pierced by four gates, one on each side of the city. At the east and south gates the wall was 36 feet high, 67 to 70 feet thick at the bottom, and 21 feet thick on top.

In the past the wall was fully faced with brick, both inside and out, and the top was lined with crenelations. Later many of the crenelations had fallen off and on at least two occasions bricks were taken from the wall and used as foundation material for roads. In some places along the wall, sand and dust had been piled so high by the wind that it was easily possible to climb up to the top of the wall.

During the reign of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo outer or enceinte walls were added to the gates. At the south gate there was a double outer wall so that it was necessary to go through three gates to get outside the wall. At the east gate the walls were so arranged that it was necessary to go through four gates. At the west gate the outer walls had been cut through so that the improved road from the station could go directly into the main gate. The doors were still in place in most of the gates, but they were not being used. Above each of the four gates there was a big gatehouse. The hsien history states that all four of them were repaired in 1616. Three were repaired by K'ang Hsi, two by Chia Ch'ing in 1810, and two during the reign of Tao Kuang.

The K'ang Hsi history also speaks of a moat around the wall, 100 feet wide and 20 feet deep. In 1729 water from the city moat was used to irrigate 800 mu of land. When the T'ang river shifted its bed in 1775 it ran through the city moat to the Meng Liang river, but another change in the river's bed in 1801 took the water supply from the moat, leaving it dry except during the heavy summer rains.

Liao Ti Pagoda

346 According to one report the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, in 1001, ordered the monk Hui Neng to build the pagoda to commemorate his bringing a set of the Buddhist scriptures to Ting Hsien. Another report says the pagoda was begun in 1004 after a battle with the Khitans at the T'ang river. The building of the pagoda was completed in 1055. It had 11 stories, was 260 feet high and 260 feet around the base. It was built of brick throughout. It took so many bricks that it was said that

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933),1954 AF12 North China AF12

four-horse wagon to bring the dragon king back. After his return the water came back to the spring.

At flood times the rivers have a tendency to break out of the old silted channels. In 1794 the T'ang broke through the dykes to the south and ran past the city wall into the Meng Liang. In the flood of 1801 it took a new channel to the north of its old bed, so that villages that had been on the north bank were then on the south bank. The damage caused by that flood was so extensive and so well remembered that a monument was erected in Tung Pan Ts'un stating:

> In the sixth year of Chia Ch'ing the T'ang took a new bed. The crops were damaged and destroyed so that the people had no clothes and no food. Houses fell down. The people complained. The site of a large village became the bed of the river. The people wanted to escape. The village had about 200 families. About 100 families left. Now [1853] only 20 to 30 families remain.

The T'ang would probably have changed its course after the floods of 1917 and 1924, except that the breaks in the dykes were repaired and the river forced back into its old bed.

In 1810 the people of T'ang Hsien blocked the watercourse and cut off the flow of the T'ang to Ting Hsien. They were sued by the residents of Ting Hsien, but the case was not decided until 1826. Then the decision was in favor of Ting Hsien.

Through the years, the T'ang and Sha have had their part in China's history. Being two of the larger streams crossing the western part of the coastal plain, they have been advantageously placed for defense and have been the scene of numerous battles. The chief of these from the 6th to the 17th century are listed in the historical resumé in Chapter XIX.

The inhabitants of Ting Hsien lived in the walled city and its three suburbs, east, south, and west, 10 market towns, and 443 villages. The towns generally, but not always, had more families than the villages, did more business than the villages, had more stores, and had a larger proportion of non-farm families. All of the towns had markets, but so did 72 of the villages. As the differences between the towns and villages were largely those of degree we have grouped them together in our studies and counted them as 453 politically organized residence and farming areas. How they were distributed in the hsien is shown by the map on page 5.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

361 369 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 361 423 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.[1]

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

. . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.[2]

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

THE VILLAGE

621 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the
• 361 village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent [3] of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.

[1] Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[3] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

very large concentration of factories in the provinces in which the big port cities of Shanghai, Tiensien, Hankow, and Canton are situated. Three hundred fifty-eight or 63 per cent of the 565 factories are in these provinces and most of them are in these four cities.

(15) The spread of a labor movement organized along Western lines has been described by Dr. Ta Chen.[1] The Third National Conference of Labor held in Canton in May, 1926, was attended by 400 delegates representing as many unions and 1,240,000 workmen from 19 provinces.

Reports were presented and resolutions passed on the following subjects: Organization of the labor movement; reorganization and working of trade unions; objectives and program of the economic struggle; strikes; the relations between workers and peasants; workers' education; young workers and the trade union movement; unemployment; cooperation; labor legislation; and *the right of association* and conditions of work.[2]

In many cases it is possible to see the direct relation between one of these many changes and guild organization or procedure. These complex changes have been accompanied by a general variability from customary behavior and by a sense of mental unrest and insecurity which though far more difficult to describe is no less significant in considering the changes in guild life.

THE CITY OF PEKING

To give the proper social setting of the particular guilds we are studying, it would be necessary to describe in great detail the life of the city of Peking. Fortunately, such a study has already been made.[3] For our purposes it will be

[1] Ta Chen, *The Labor Movement in China* (Honolulu, 1927).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

361 sufficient to enumerate certain features of Peking life which may give a touch of color to the general background already described. The history of Peking extends back for more than 3,000 years and has records dated 1121 B. C. The present city is the sixth city built approximately on the same site. Peking has been the capital of China almost continuously for a thousand years.

Peking is made up of five walled districts, three of which are concentric. The Forbidden City, the old home of the Emperor, is in the center, cut off from the rest of the city by a wall and moat. Around it lies the Imperial City, the old home of the lesser members of the Court. Outside of this is the North or Tartar City, surrounded by a wall 41 feet high and 50 feet across at the top. The South or Chinese City joins the North City on the south, its north wall being the south wall of the North City. The Legation Quarter, the home of the official representatives of the foreign countries, is a small district in the southern part of the North City. It is walled because of the experience of 1900, when the foreigners in the city were besieged by the Boxers. For administrative purposes, Peking has been divided into twenty police districts. The Central Districts are in the Imperial City, the Inside Districts in the North City, and the Outside Districts in the South City. The Left Districts are on the east, and the Right Districts on the west side of the city. The area of the city is 24.75 square miles.[1]

This geographic description does not, however, give a picture of this marvelous bit of medieval age which is the wonder of every tourist who comes to the city and gazes from the high walls over the tops of thousands of ancient trees to the yellow tiles of the Emperor's palace. The city is a strange combination of ancient and modern. Down its broad streets and through its great gates slowly wend camel trains from the desert. By them pass, at forty or fifty

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

miles an hour, the modern automobile of an official with armed soldiers standing on the running board. British- and American-built trains come in through an ancient wall to the stately, modern-style railroad stations. In the same city where the ancient palaces of Emperors and princes occupy vast areas are modern hotels, office buildings, and residences. Peking is the happy hunting ground of tourists who wish to get the products of Chinese handcraft and art. In sections of the Southern City certain streets are named from the product sold or made in that particular district. One street is known to the tourist as Silk Street, another as Lantern Street. In another section are the gold workers; in another, the cloisonné designers. In a very small section in the Northern City are the makers of old-style bows and arrows, with their shops closely adjoining one another. And many modern stores are being opened for the selling of clothing, hardware, bicycles, automobiles, electrical supplies, and other importations from the West.

Peking is unlike any other city in its government.

The Government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle. Many different boards and agencies, including the National Government, its President, Cabinet and Parliament, the Metropolitan District, and two of its 20 *Hsien*, the Military Guard under the Board of War, the Municipal Council and Police Board, both of which are responsible to the Minister of the Interior, are all functioning in the city. The powers of the various boards are determined by custom rather than by law, so it is practically impossible to describe their relationship under all conditions.[1]

The relation of the guilds to the government naturally is not the same as it would be in a small town where the local *Hsien* official alone deals with the taxes. However, the same attitude of solidarity against the government officials is found

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

LOCATION OF THE FAMILIES

The working families under investigation lived in the east side of Peking, distributed in four Police districts as follows: 361

Outer Left III Ward	15
Outer Left IV Ward	5
Outer Left V Ward	4
Inner Left IV. Ward	24
Total	48

It is indeed true that Peking has not yet developed its slums, nor has it presented such glaring contrasts of wealthy and poor districts as most modern cities, yet there is the unmistakable sign that Peking, too, is tending to conform to the pattern of the modern city. People of poorer classes are gradually driven to the outskirts of the city, back streets around busy districts or sections where dilapidated houses abound. Thus, the families under investigation seemed to cluster around two centres. Families of the Outer Left Wards live around a market centre, known as "Flower Market" which has derived its name from the fact that artificial flowers are the most important articles sold there. Those of the Inner Left Ward were close to the residential quarter of respectable families on the one side and the east city wall on the other. People of this district are squeezed in between respectability and the dead wall and there is every likelihood that if the former continues to grow and expand and the latter will not tumble down, they will soon be expelled to the outskirts beyond the city-wall, as a great number of them have already done so.

RACE AND NATIVITY

The racial stock of the forty-eight families was distributed in the following manner. 162

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING

362 House rent is an important item of expenditure with our Peking families. In the order of percentages, it comes only after food and fuel and light. On account of its importance, we will give separate treatment to the housing conditions of the forty-eight families under investigation.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

361 For some five centuries, Peking has been the capital of the whole of China. Not only was it the site of the central government which promulgated laws binding upon the whole nation and commanded respect and obedience from its officials as well as its subjects, but it was also that of the national treasury which received regularly from time to time from the various provinces revenues in the forms of silver, grain, silk and other kinds of wealth. In the days of the Manchus, it was this revenue, which supported the lavishing imperial court, fed thousands of its kinsmen and bannerman soldiers who exerted no energy whatsoever on their part in return, and lastly paid the salaries of thousands of mandarins to enable them to maintain their living as became their standing, according to the scale then prevailing. In those days, when modern industry and commerce were still in their infancy, Peking could quite properly boast of itself as being the most opulent city in China, as it was able to draw every year immeasurable quantities of national wealth to support its big population of Manchu idlers and easy-going functionaries. Like the capital of all oriental countries, Peking owed its splendour to the fact that the ruling dynasty made it its political capital, while numberless functionaries chose it as their place of residence.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

361 In the light of history, therefore, Peking is without doubt the
362 first city in China. Of all cities, it may easily claim to possess the greatest number of solid and well-built residences, not to mention its magnificent palaces and temples. It is evident that time must have worn out many a building that was once intact and erect and doubtless that in many quarters, where communication with the outside world is difficult, there usually stand houses that have already been on their way to ruin and decrepitude. Yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that Peking houses have a dignity of their own, which can hardly be found in any other city in this land. In comparison with the dwarf huts, low and ugly and made of mud, which one finds in the country sides, they are generally built of bricks with tiled roofs and spacious courtyards. In recent years, through the influx of people into Peking due to its various attractions, there has appeared indeed a shortage of housing, for the rent has gone up and poorer families have been compelled to move either to more distant quarters or to more shabby houses. Consequently, enterprising people rose to the occasion and began to build in outlying or dingy districts long rows of tenements for the occupation of the working class families. These houses are of course small and of very frail construction, but if they are all let, they would yield a rack-rent that goes to swell the pockets of the landlords. This, however, is a new development in Peking—an inevitable one in any city in view of its growth and expansion, unless there exists an enlightened municipal authority to take the matter in hand which we shall not go into now.

342 The Peking house of the regular type is built in four rows
362 encircling a courtyard. As a rule, each row is a separate build-
598 ing consisting of three rooms or *chien*,[1] the centre room or *chien* being used as a hall with a door, while the main entrance of the house is opened in the row that borders on the street. In the courtyard is usually planted a tree, a date-palm or a willow, its green foliage in the summer furnishing a haven to those who want to seek some shade under the blazing sun. A middle-class

[1] A *chien* is usually an enclosure of 2.5 x 3.0 metres.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

V. Social Relations

361

The Ching River not only divides the district into political areas, but it also divides the town into two different social regions. To the north is a typical rural area with a small population, large villages at long distances from each other and an area producing large crops of grain and other agricultural produce. To the south is a small suburban area, with a dense population much influenced by Peping, and containing many cemetaries and Manchu camps. In the northern area one can scarcely find any single households, but there are a number of large villages having a population 100 families or more, while in the southern area single households are everywhere from the city wall to the Ching River, and there is only one village with a population of 120 families, that being a Manchu camp. This, of course, does not take into account such towns as Chengfu and Haitien. In this southern area there are several hundreds of graveyards from the cemetary of prince and princess to the small tomb of the proletariat. There is no truck farming (market gardening) or large estates in this area, these usually being located just outside the city gates, and in the case of Peping the large estates are found chiefly around the Old Summer Palace (圓明園) and the gardens outside Hsichimen. As far as we can trace there is no large clan or religions relationship between the central and the surrounding neighbourhood. This is a part of the country which has been disturbed and resettled many times, and in the oldest families one can only trace four or five generations; so that no one clan or big

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

361 family can be found here as is the case in the Yangtse valley or the provinces bordering on the south seas.

The people call themselves Buddhists, but they do not know anything of Buddhism except its forms of worship, and there is no temple mysterious enough to excite their attention. The only religious interest is on the part of the Mohammedans who maintain a temple in the town. So the religious relationship between the town and the surrounding villages is absent and no church zone like they have in the United States could be found.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

4. Marketing

361
443 No detailed treatment of the problem of marketing will be presented here, as the Economics Department of Yenching University has undertaken a specific study of the marketing situation in Ching-ho, and the reader is referred to their report for further information. But here we wish th give some specific data which we might call lhe ecological phase of the problem.

As we have mentioned in the chapter on the history and geography of the town the market of Ching-ho has in more ways than one made very good adjustments with the markets of the surrounding area. In the first place there is the date of the market. Ching-ho has always held its market on the odd days in the Chinese calender while the three adjacent markets, Sha ho. How Chuan and Ping Si Tu, have held their markets on the even days of the month. Another adjustment is in regard to the area from which Ching-ho market draws its supplies. Because of the better price and ready market, Ching-ho, has always drawn from an area of two-third, of the territory between itself and other markets.

443 Since quantitative analysis of commoctities is exclusively economic and is being studies by the Department of economics, we turned our attention to the problem of attendance. Our field workers have taken records of the attendanes on twenty days during the later part of October at the hours of 7, 8, 9, and 10 A. M. every morning. Even days and odd days are grouped nnder the heads of market day and non-

101, 133, 361, 487

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L
M	N	O	P

Chart of position of sections of end map.

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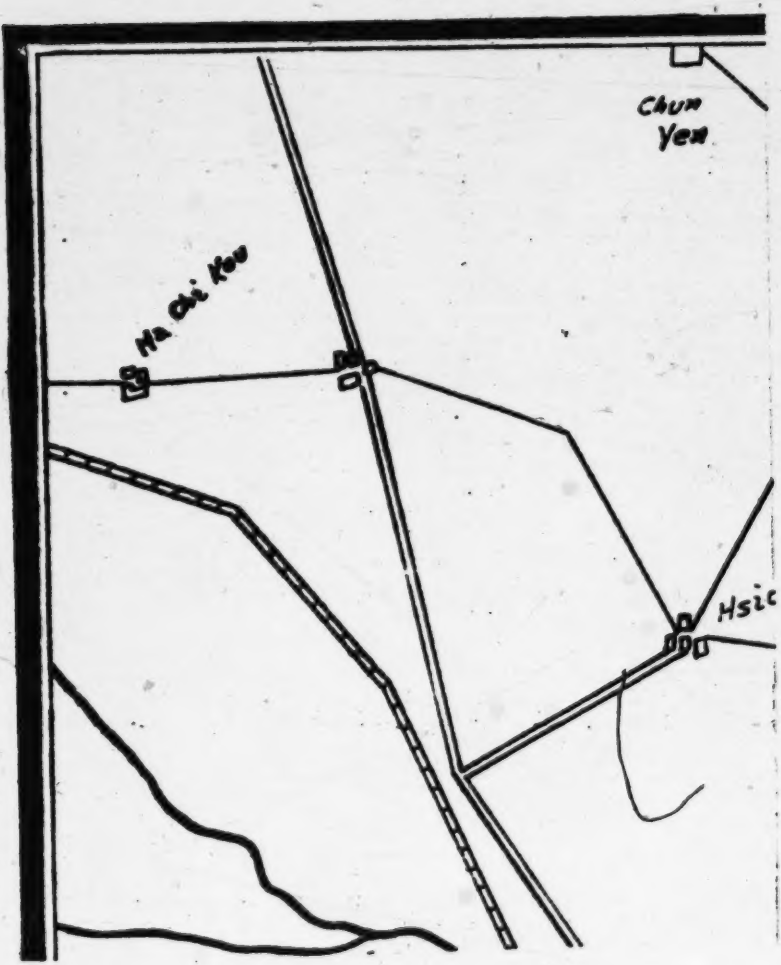

[End Flap Map A]

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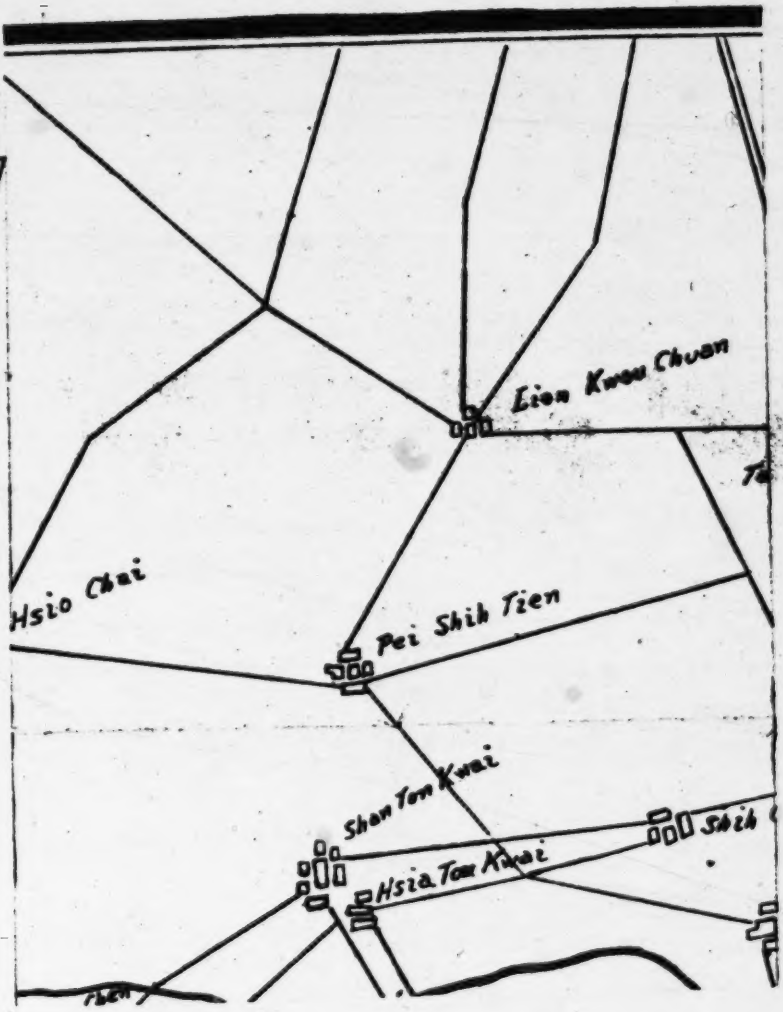

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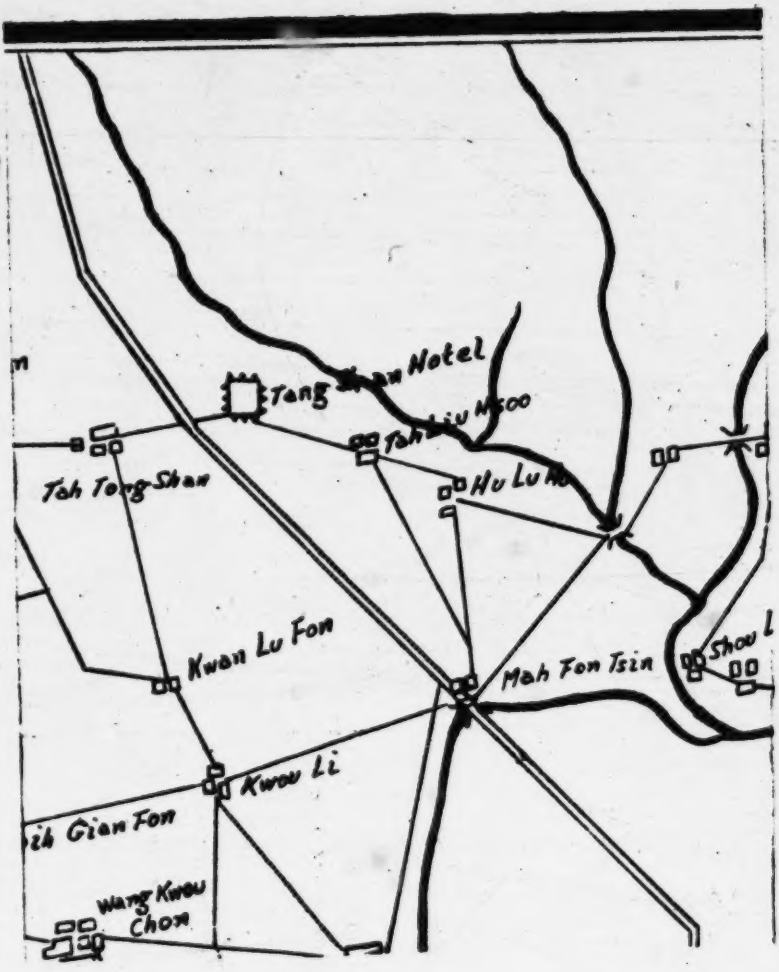

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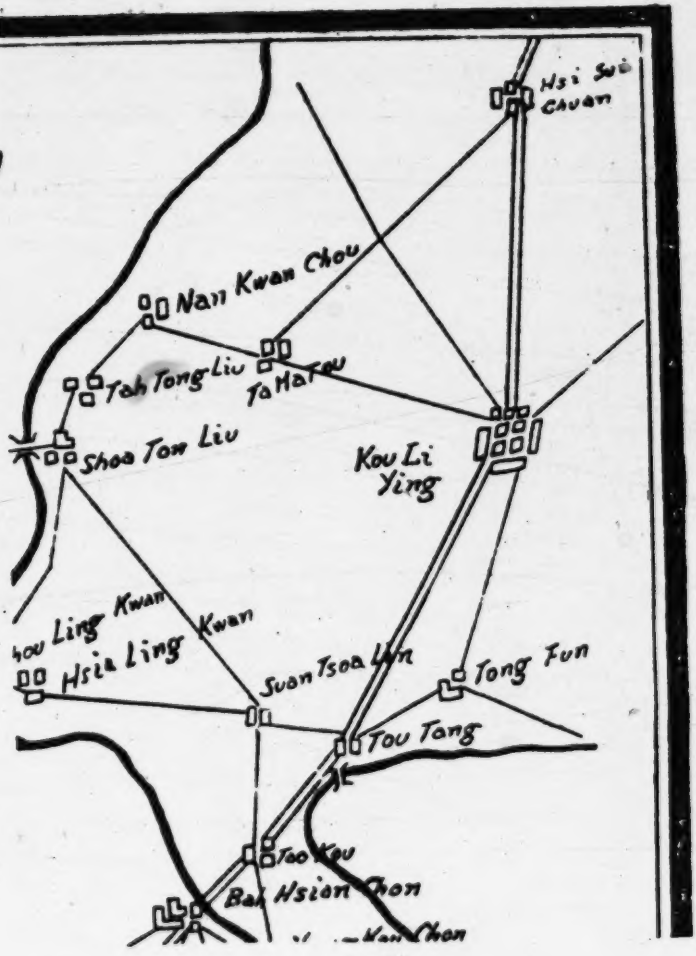

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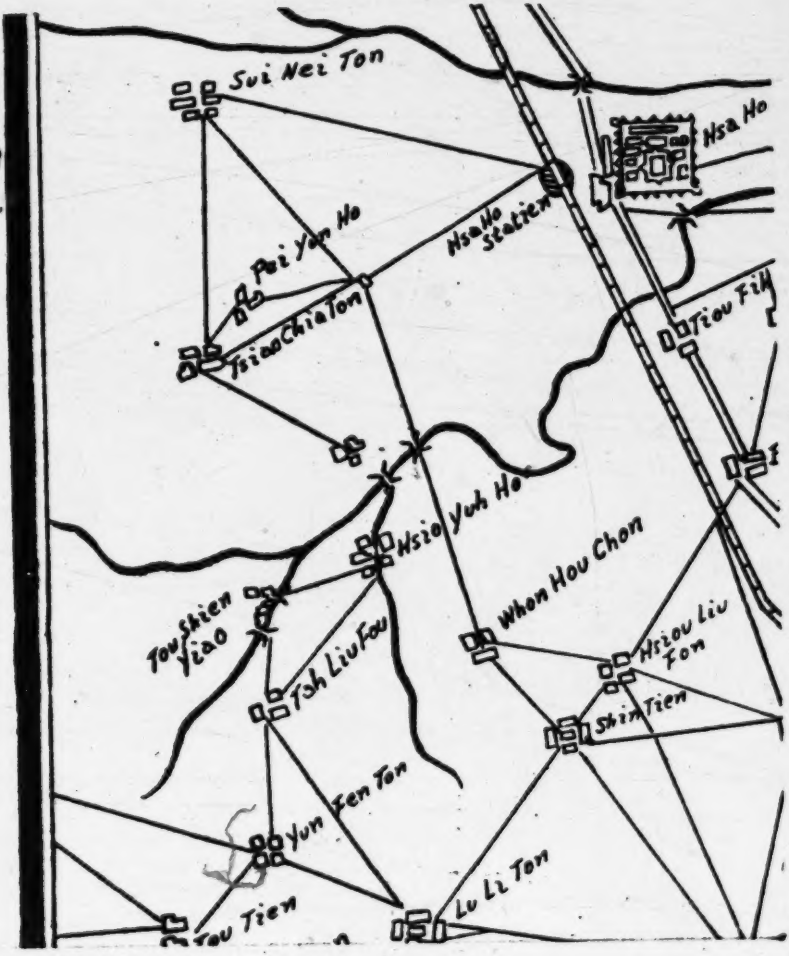

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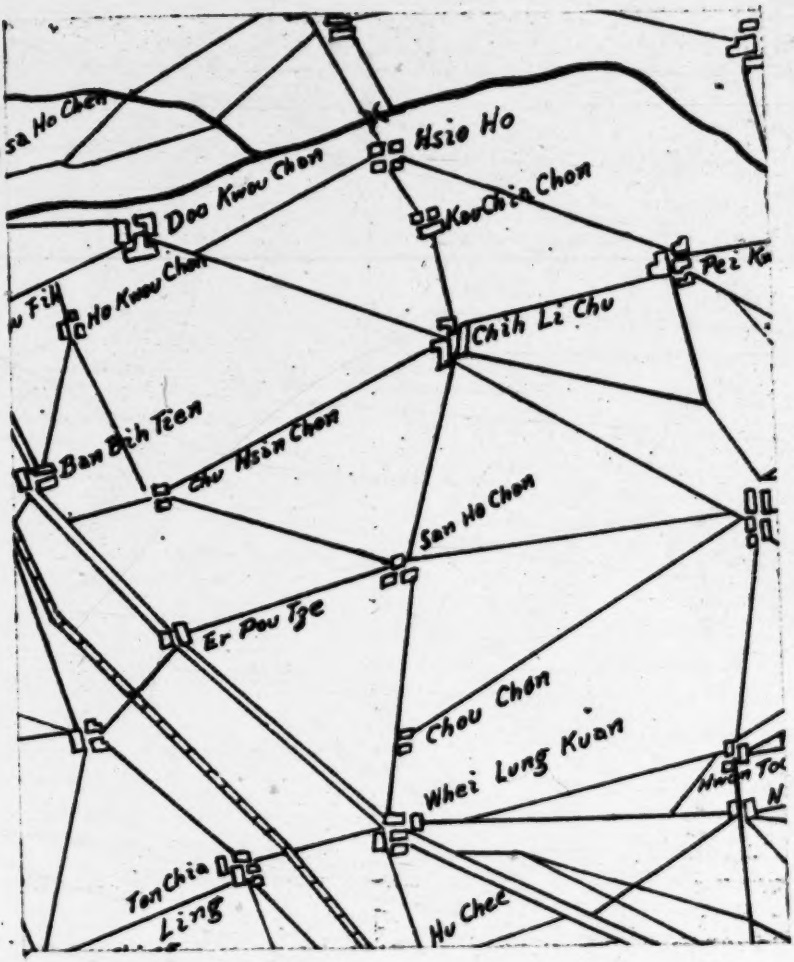

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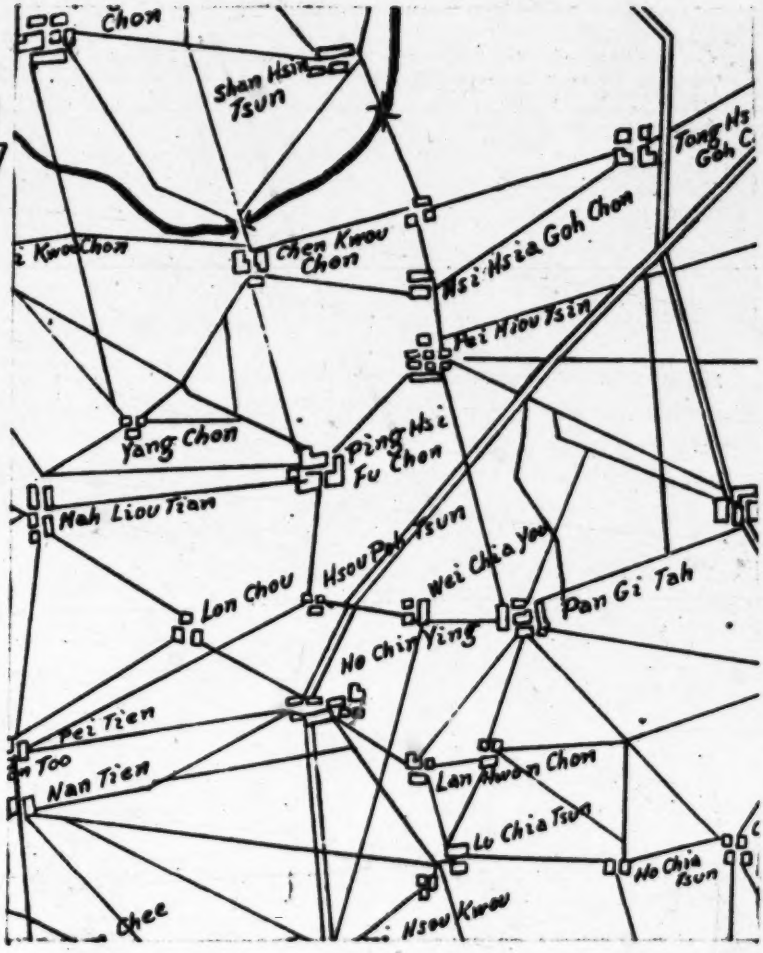

[End Flap map G]

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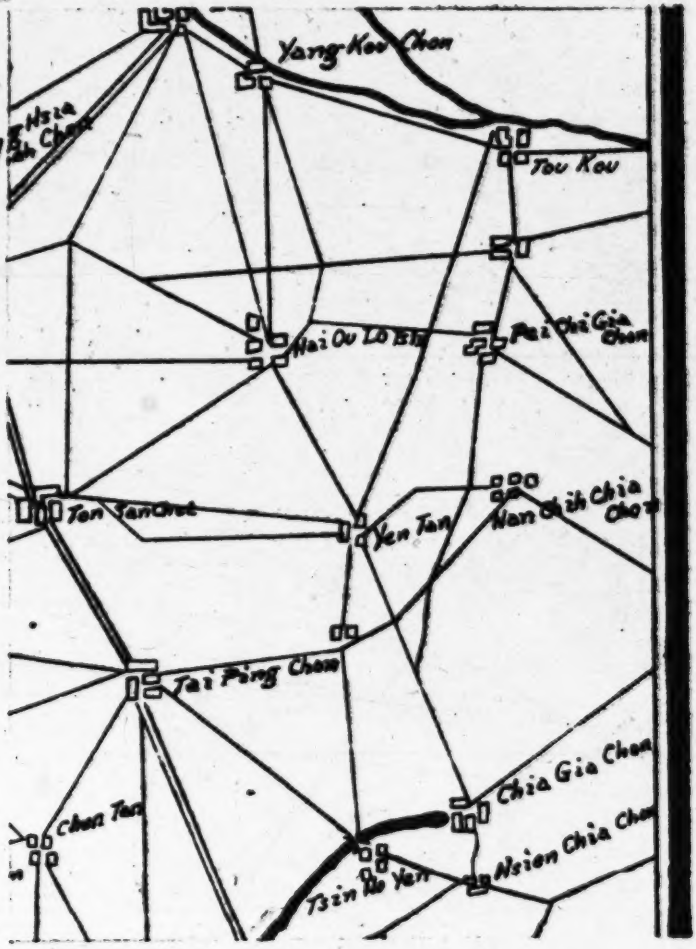

[End Flap Map H]

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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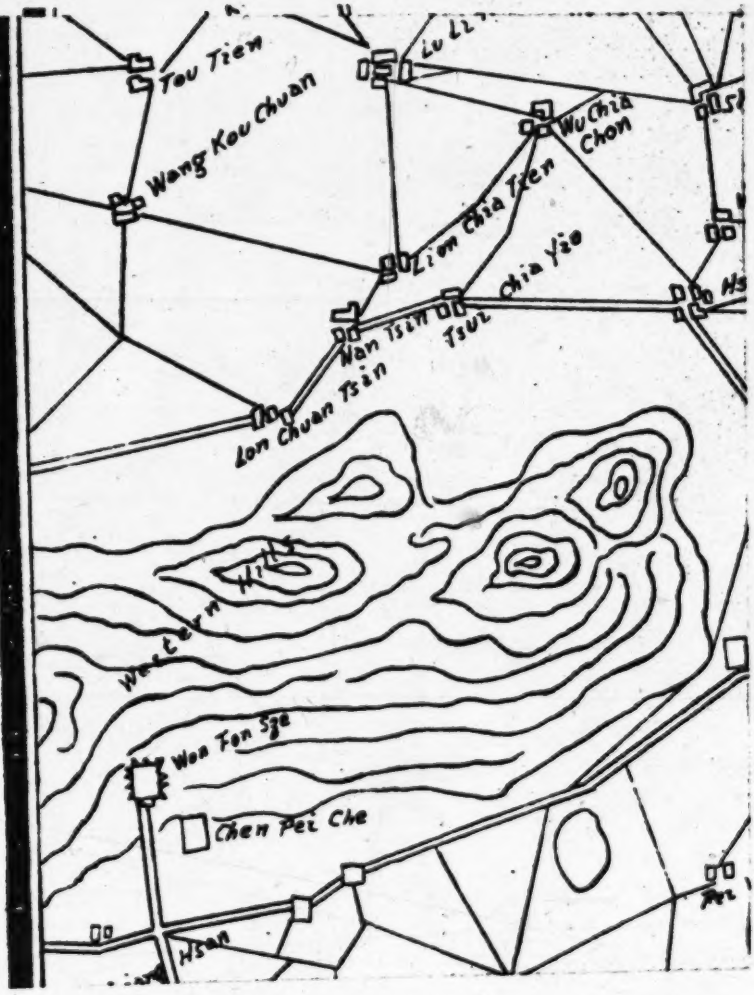

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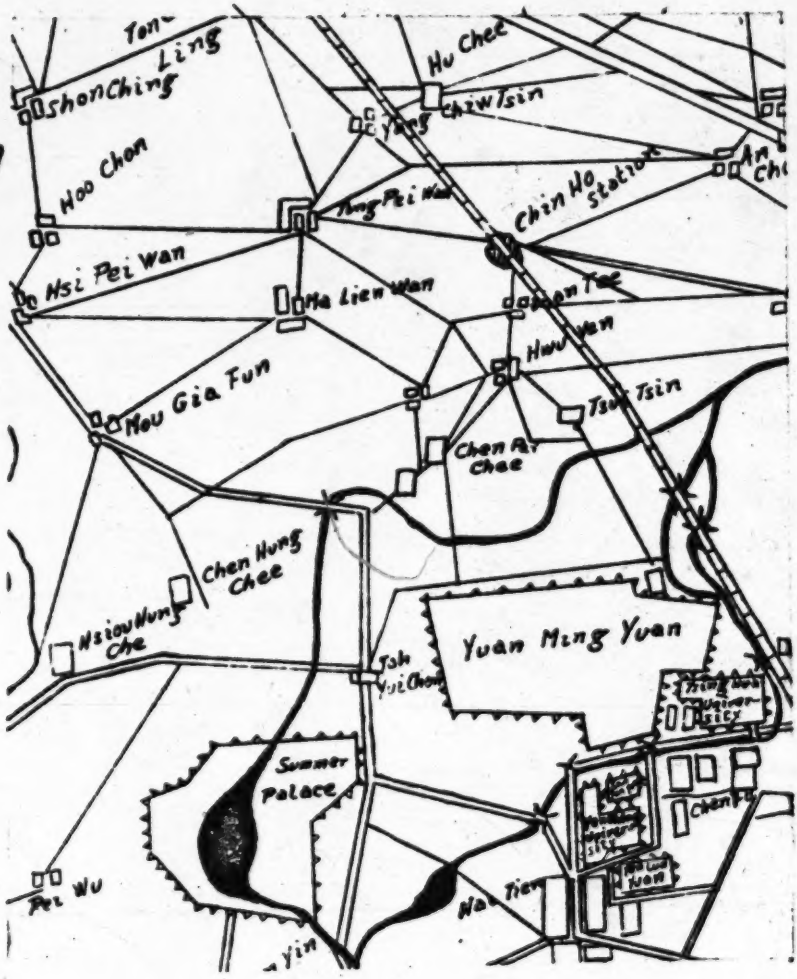

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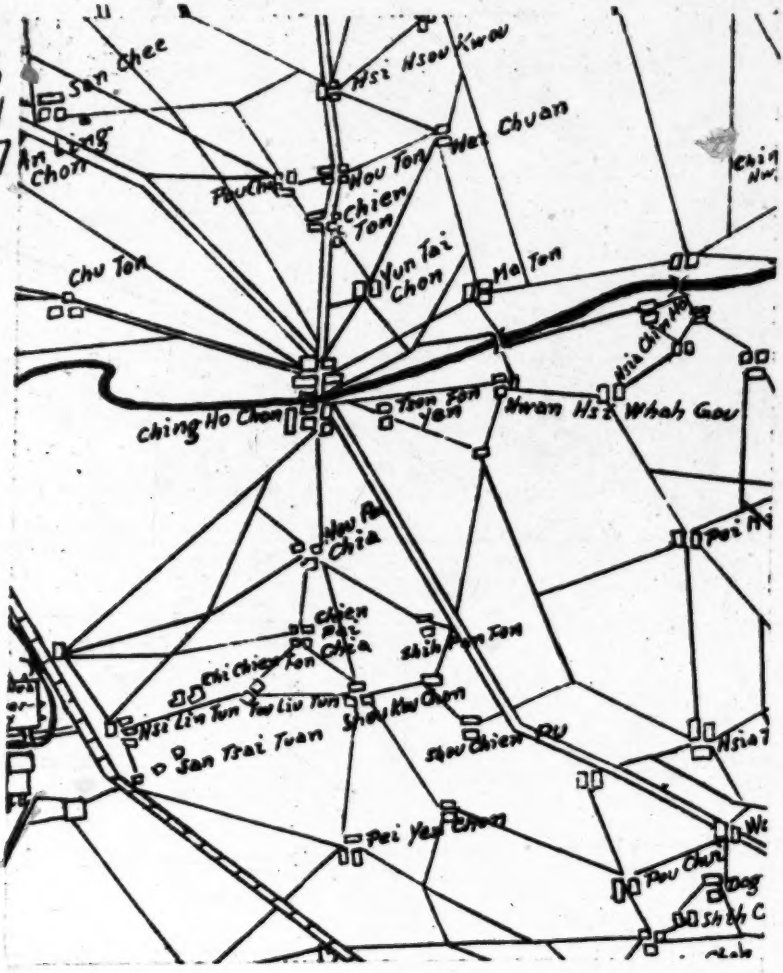

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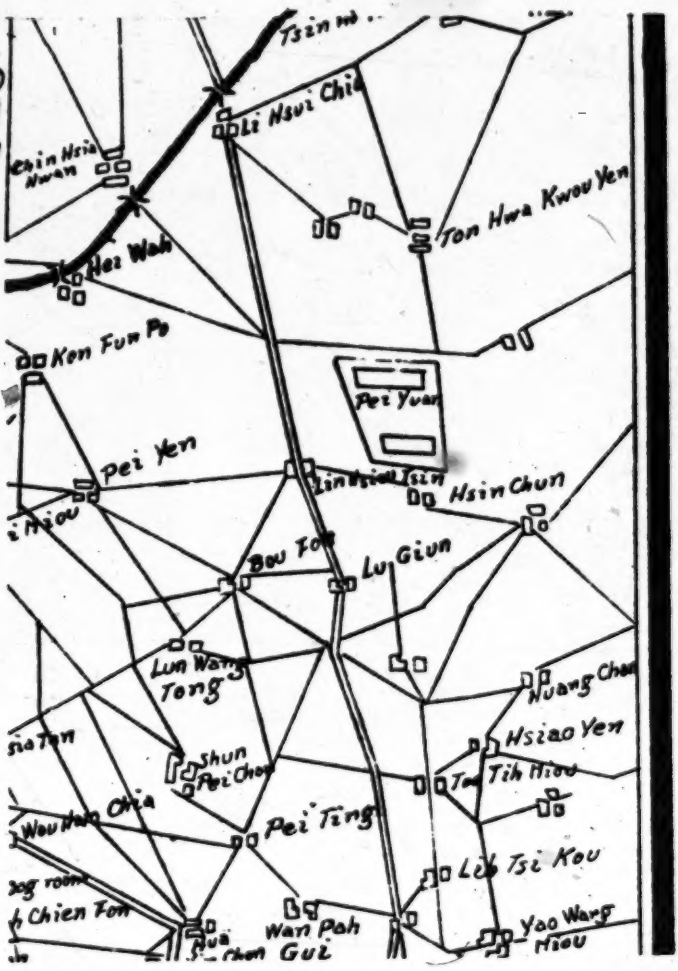

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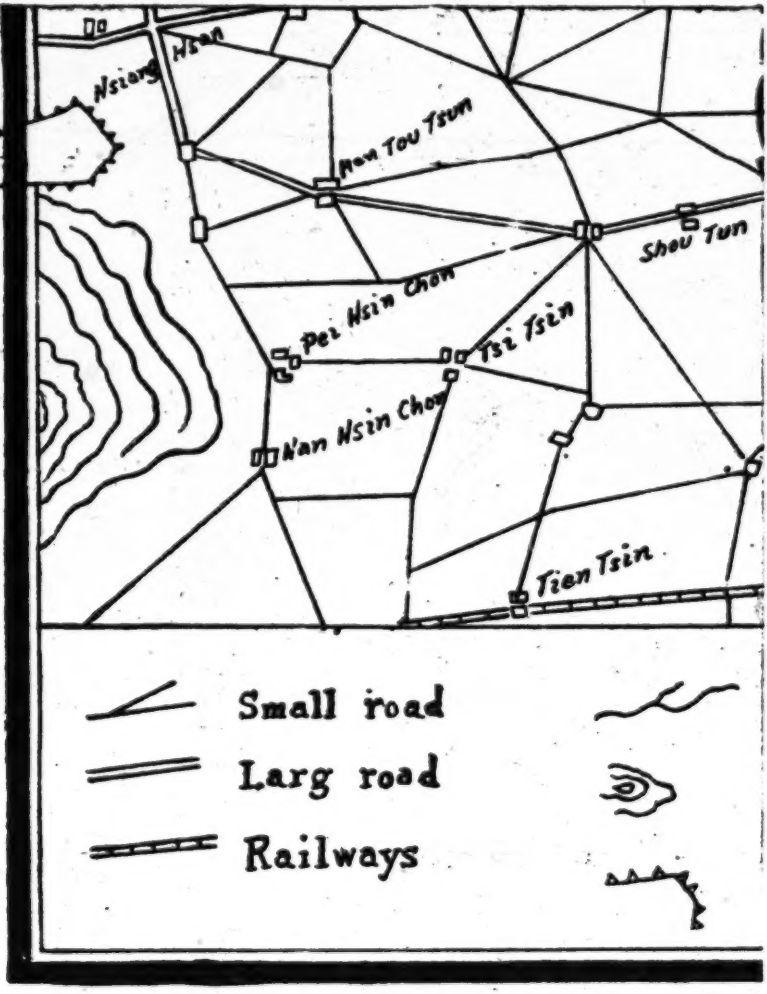

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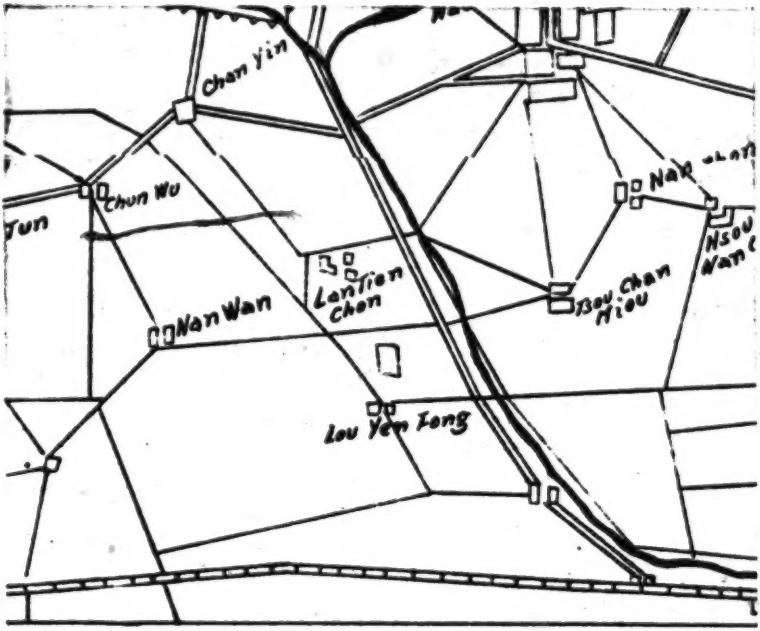

River
Mountain
Walls
Village
Bridge
City gate

[End Flap map N]

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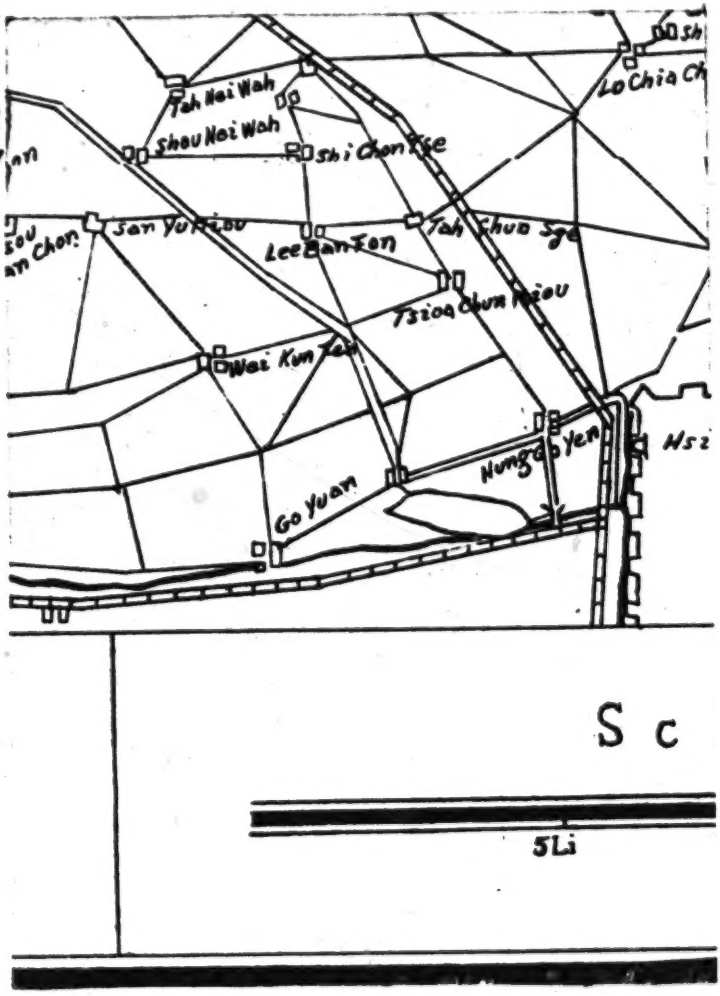

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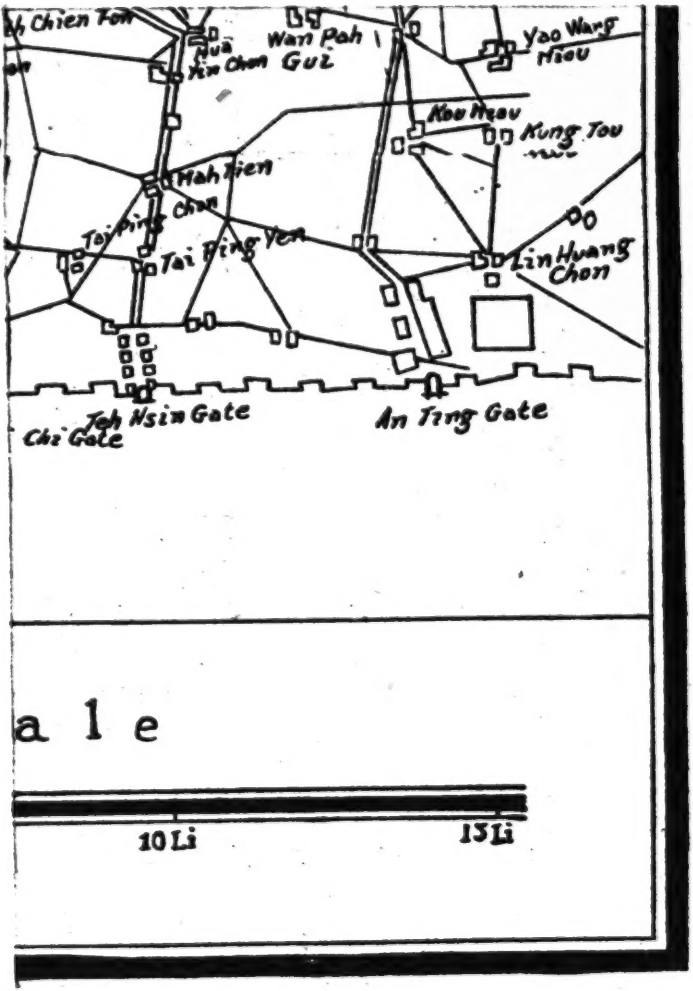

[End Flap map P]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

423 to September the family was unable to find any tenants.
427 Beginning in September, three rooms were rented for $7 a month. The total receipts for the year were only $43, or less than the cost of two rooms.

427 One hundred and ninety-three families—68 per cent of the group—paid rent for their houses during the entire year.

• 361 Fifty-five families moved from one house to another during the year. Seven families moved more than once, and one family moved four times in twelve months. The latter was a family of four, a couple, the husband's sixty-seven-year-old mother, and a fourteen-year-old son. From December to April, they lived in a two-room rented house, for which they paid $2 a month. In April, they moved to a two-room house owned by a relative. For this they paid no rent. In May, they moved to another relative's house; and, in June, to still another. In September, they moved once more, this time to a two-room house for which they paid $1.57 a month. The family was helped by relatives, as the man had lost his position with the *Kuo Min Chün,* the People's Army, and was able to get work for only three months. His income for the year was $49.30; his expenditure $354.70. Fortunately the family had some savings from which they could meet most of their budget.

If these figures are typical, Peiping families do an unusual amount of moving from one house to another. Almost one out of every five families, 19.5 per cent, a large proportion, moved during the year. Americans are noted for being a restless people, but they apparently move less often than this group of Peiping families. According to the records of the American Telephone and Telegraph

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Company, one out of every eight American families moves during the year. 361

The poorer families, having little furniture and other household equipment, can move without much trouble, and one might expect that the difficulties of making regular rent payments, et cetera, would force them to move more often than well-to-do families, but they were only average in this respect. The largest proportion of families who moved was found among those with the larger incomes. Twenty per cent of the families with incomes of less than $50 a month moved during the year; 26 per cent of those with incomes of over $100 a month; and only 14 per cent of those receiving between $50 and $100 a month

Of the larger income families, three moved during the year from rented quarters to houses which they owned—one, because the head of the house had trouble with his step-mother; another, because the man had received a fellowship, and his family went to live with his parents while he was abroad; and the third, because the man left an employer who had been giving him his house as part of his salary.

If the study had been made in 1929, we would undoubtedly have found a much larger proportion of families who changed their living quarters during the year. After the capital was moved to Nanking in 1928, a great many people left the city, and Peiping suffered severe economic depression. Rents came down, but it is reported that many of the landlords refused to reduce the rents for their old tenants. Naturally this meant that a great many families moved in order to reduce their rent, and moved several times as rents continued to decrease. While some houses were leased for long terms, and one 361 427

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

family was paying about one-third the current rent value on account of a long lease on the property, most of the cheaper houses were rented by the month and could be given up at any time.

Rents were still going up in 1927, for the accounts of 20 families showed that their rent was raised. Thirteen of these families were renting only one room. Ten were paying less than $1 a month rent. For eight of those ten, the increase was 10 cents a month. The largest increase was $2 a month. The rent for three rooms, occupied by a family in the $25 income group, was raised from $4 to $6; and the rent of four rooms, occupied by a family in the $40 group, was raised from $6 to $8. Other increases ranged from 48 cents to $1.50. The largest proportional increase was from 48 cents to $1, or 108 per cent.

Some landlords require tenants to pay more than one month's rent when they take possession of a house. Personal experience gave us the impression that ordinarily it was three months' rent. This would be regarded as payment for two months, the first and last of the rent contract, plus a tip amounting to a month's rent, for the landlord's servants who were supposed to prepare the property for the new occupant. The accounts show, however, that the requirement of advance rent was far from universal. Only 11 of the 55 families that moved from one house to another reported the payment of any advance rent, or tip. The first month these families were in their new houses, they paid from 1.3 to 2.5 months' rent. None of them paid as much as three months' rent. Only six of the 11 paid an amount equal to two or more months' rent. These were evidently paying the last month's rent in ad-